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Imaginative View of the Island and Lighthouse
of Pharos with the Harbors and Town of
Alexandria Beyond (1924). NYPL

THE PTOLEMAIC CITY OF ALEXANDRIA RECONSIDERED

ROBERT STEVEN BIANCHI

13/11/2001

COLLÈGE DE FRANCE
Cabinet d'Égyptologie

Inventaire B ..10..4.95.....

As one walks around the city of Alexandria, catching glimpses of the glorious architecture of the nineteenth and early twentieth century or enjoying the refreshing breezes along the corniche, one must be ever mindful of the fact that there is precious little still remaining on land of the once great Hellenistic city, where high-rises have taken the place of villas and shanty towns abound. Strolling through this storied city, one gains the distinct impression that Hellenistic Alexandria is either a mirage or the figment of some wild romantic's imagination.

Tradition maintains that Alexander the Great himself laid out the plan of the city in the form of a Macedonian Greek *chalmys*. As a garment the *chalmys* doubtless became a metaphor to emphasize the Greek as opposed to any pharaonic Egyptian character of the city. This Greek ideological as opposed to pharaonic Egyptian character of Alexandria is reinforced by its Roman designation in Latin, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*,

which may be paraphrased as something on the order of "Alexandria next to, but not within Egypt proper." Additionally, the metaphor of the *chalmys* was intended to drive home the point that Alexandria was rectangular in plan, with avenues intersecting boulevards at right angles in order to give its urban plan the

canonical form of a grid pattern as standardized by Hippodamos of Miletos. Alexandria's position, located at the extreme west of the Nile's Delta was no accident because Alexander's foundation had a two-fold purpose. The first was to wrest primacy from other Egyptian entrepôts, particularly Naukratis, and the second was to deprive the Persians of both a warm water port and Egypt's bounty.

An offshore island, the Pharos, known to Homer and mentioned in Book Four of his *Odyssey*, was connected to the mainland by Alexander's design in a causeway, the *heptasadion*. This linkage created two harbors, the eastern, or great harbor, and the western, called *eunostos*, which enabled vessels to call upon the city throughout the year. I have the distinct impression that the design of this harbor as a double one was conceived with malice aforethought as a conscious rival of the double harbor at Rhodes.

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RESISTING THE HORROR

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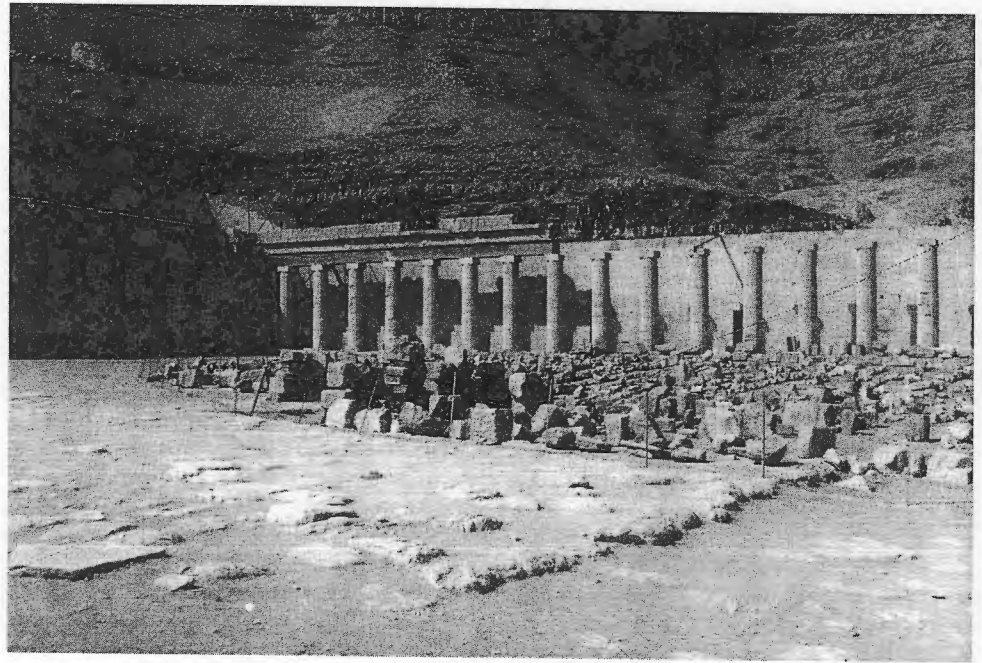
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Saturday, Nov. 22 Some very interesting things have been happening in Luxor since the attack on Monday. Today I journeyed across the river to Hatshepsut's mortuary temple, where I climbed the ramp to the deserted second terrace. I was hard-pressed to see any evidence of Monday's horror. Several bouquets of flowers lay wilting on the portico paving stones, but only in areas where the sand is a little darker than it should be can you tell where human beings fell and died. All of the blood on the walls and pillars have been carefully cleaned away, as if the event itself could be so easily washed clean, and the bullet holes have been filled with plaster.

As I walked through the silent porticos, I wondered why the horror wasn't more palpable; how could this place seem so peaceful after such an event? Then, in an area near the Punt reliefs, I noticed faint, smeared imprints where two hands had clutched desperately at the wall, leaving scratches where the nails had dug into the soft plaster. For someone who has been trained to "read" walls and the tales they tell, those sad traces cried out with a great voice.

I then gradually became aware of a strange sound far off in the distance, like an angry buzz of insects. I looked out and saw a huge dust cloud at the far end of the road leading to the temple, moving my way. As it got closer I could see that it was an immense crowd of Egyptians, thou-



Hatshepsut's Temple. Credit: Egyptian Tourist Authority

sands of them, carrying banners, waving flags and branches, chanting and shouting. There were cars and camels and donkeys accompanying them, and a truck that had some sort of flamethrower in it, spouting flames to the sky. It was a vision straight from Hieronymus Bosch.

I didn't know what was going on, but I decided that whatever it was, it was history. I took out my camera and started snapping pictures as the crowd continued up the road and reached the first guard post. Here they were stopped by the police, but the pressure of those behind caused the crowd to fan out along the perimeter wall, chanting and roaring, and finally they broke through the entrance and poured up the road toward the second guard post, where I could see policemen quickly assembling. Although also stopped momentarily there, the crowd quick-

ly broke through the gate, swept into the great open court of the temple and began to run up the ramp. At around this point I confess I began to fear what would come next, and carefully removed to the sidelines. A small group of Japanese tourists on the terrace with me stood huddled around their Egyptian guide, staring in horrified fascination at the oncoming crowd.

Thousands of men and children chanting slogans and carrying palm fronds, leafy boughs, placards, banners and Egyptian flags streamed up the ramp and erupted onto the terrace. Within minutes they filled the gigantic space, and I then, finally, realized what was going on. The banners and the placards, inscribed in hand-lettered English, German, French and Arabic, all denounced terrorism, terrorists, and the massacre of Monday. I was witnessing



massive demonstration of local outrage and sorrow. I began to recognize familiar faces in the crowd: all of the local taxi drivers, water-taxi operators, boatmen, kaffirs, farmers and shop owners, even representatives from the Egyptian-government antiquities agency. People came up to shake my hand, hug me, apologize for what happened, express their shame and anger. More and more people flowed onto the terrace from the ramp. The throng seemed never-ending; some headed down as others made the ascent; even the camel riders came up! And suddenly everyone was streaming back down, through the lower court and near gate, out of the precinct and back down the road. In a few minutes the entire crowd was once again a slowly diminishing dust cloud. I was left alone, and the peace of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple was once more restored.

And so was my faith in these people and their future. I found their sol-

idarity and willingness to express it deeply moving, and I know that somehow, some way, Egypt will recover and go on. Even Hatshepsut's temple must have taken notice; the whole atmosphere there had completely changed. I never would have understood or fully comprehended what had just occurred, had I not borne witness to it.

Monday, Nov. 24 There have been more demonstrations in Luxor, one at noon yesterday in town, and another this afternoon, which passed along the corniche; lots of children. There are banners along many streets denouncing terrorism. It is extremely interesting to observe, all the more so because it is such a positive way to work things out. Have you heard anything about this back home? It's the sort of event that generally gets the least press coverage, of course. I am told that 5,000 people took part in the Saturday demonstration—equal

to the nightly audience attending the "Aida" production put on at the temple last month.

Our friends at home and even in Cairo are of course extremely depressed about this horrific incident, and are prone to see it as the beginning of the end in Egypt. This I refuse to do, especially after seeing the local reaction to it. As a colleague of mine aptly put in a recent letter: "There is something so brutally desperate about the attack it makes me think perhaps these 'losers' really are being pursued to extinction." I would like to think so. We must hope so. I see these demonstrations as a very positive sign, and I am disappointed that the media don't seem interested in them. An entire people's collective angst, anger, frustration and basic goodness is not interesting or sensational enough? What have we come to if human horror is more appealing to us than human hope? 🐾



ARCE Staff
on a visit to EAP
Conservation Sites
in Cairo.
Photo by Paula
Sanders/ARCE

CURATOR IN RESIDENCE PROGRAM: SOMAYA IBRAHIM

Ms. Somaya Abdel Khaliq Ibrahim, who recently completed a Mellon Fellowship at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in textile conservation, was recently awarded a special Curator-in-Residence Fellowship from ARCE for the year 1997-98. Ms. Ibrahim will be using the grant to attend classes in the Museum Studies Program of New York University during the spring. In 1993 she received a Conservator-in-Residence Fellowship from ARCE to work at the Conservation Analytical Laboratory of the Smithsonian Institution. Ms. Ibrahim's full-time work is as a conservator in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Ms. Ibrahim's fellowship is provided by a grant from the United States Information Agency.

NEW AWARDS

Samuel H. Kress Foundation awarded ARCE a grant of \$90,000 over a five-year period in support of the Kress Fellowship in Egyptian Art and Architecture, beginning with the 1998-99 fellowship year (January 1998).

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The Marilyn M. Simpson Charitable Trust awarded a grant of \$5,000 for general support of operations (December 1997).



David A. Anderson

1997 MCHUGH AWARD WINNER: DAVE ANDERSON

David Anderson was the 1997 winner of the McHugh Award, given annually to young scholars carrying out research in geoarchaeology in Egypt or in the Predynastic period of Egyptian history or geography. If you think you are eligible for the McHugh Award, please apply to the New York office. Currently the award carries a monetary value of \$525.


Here's a short report on his background and project:

David Anderson has been conducting archaeological research for the past 14 years in the Northeastern United States and in Egypt. He completed his BA in anthropology and Near Eastern languages and civilizations and Egyptology at the University of Chicago. Following his undergraduate education, Mr. Anderson was employed by the

University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, where he became associated with the University of Pennsylvania/Yale University Expedition to Abydos in Egypt. In 1991 he participated in the excavation of the Old Kingdom town site at Abydos co-directed by Dr. David O'Connor and Matthew Adams.

In 1992, Anderson began graduate work in the Ph.D. Program in anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh. In 1995, he resumed work with the Penn-Yale Expedition and returned to the Abydos area in order to conduct a feasibility study for further research into the Predynastic excavations at the site of el-Mahasna. This work continued at el-Mahasna in 1996, when Anderson completed a detailed topographic map of the settlement site and its environs.

Anderson will be returning to Egypt in September 1998 to conduct a full-scale excavation at the site of el-Mahasna as part of his dissertation research for his doctorate in anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh. This work will be conducted as part of the larger Pennsylvania/Yale/Institute of Fine Arts-New York University Expedition to Abydos, and focuses on the use of ideology in the development of social complexity and the foundation of the state in ancient Egypt. Funds provided by the McHugh Award will be utilized to purchase computer equipment which will facilitate the computerization of the field efforts at el-Mahasna.

Currently, David Anderson is a principal investigator for the Cultural Resources section of Michael Baker, Jr., Inc., Coraopolis, PA, where he is in charge of culture resource management projects in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. 

Terry Walz



THE AMERICAN DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT EGYPT ESSAYS

NANCY THOMAS, EDITOR

Essays by James P. Allen, Dorothea Arnold, Lanny Bell, Robert S. Bianchi, Edward Brovarski, Richard A. Fazzini, Timothy Kendall, Peter Lacovara, David O'Connor and Kent R. Weeks.

Companion volume to the exhibition catalog.

For your copy of **ESSAYS**, send a check for \$48.00 plus \$5.00 shipping and handling to:

**ARCE, 30 East 20th St., Suite 401,
New York, NY 10003**

GOINGS ON AROUND ARCE

BOARD MEMBER IN LA TIMES

The Los Angeles Times profiled ARCE Board member Norma Kershaw in its December 15 edition. In the feature article entitled "Overpowering Sexist Stereotypes," the writer made some interesting parallels between the only woman to reign as an Egyptian pharaoh and Kershaw, the only woman to be named an honorary trustee of the Archaeological Institute of America. He tells the story of the Long Island housewife who entered Queens College after raising a family and earned a bachelor's degree along with a Phi Beta Kappa key and a master's degree from Columbia University. In subsequent years, Kershaw has taught, lectured and made archaeological trips to Israel and Cyprus. She has been an active and supportive member of the AIA and of ARCE and we applaud her for this recognition.

CONSERVATION NEWS

In December, Mahmoud El-Shendidy arrived in New York to work at the Brooklyn Museum of Art for a period of three months under the supervision of Ellen Pearlstein, Senior Conservator at the museum. Sponsored by ARCE, he was awarded a Conservator-in-Residence fellowship from the United States Information Agency. The fellowship is intended to give exposure to the approach, the materials, and the techniques of conservation treatment to a selection of Egyptian objects. El-Shendidy is working in the Department of Conservation with Pearlstein on part of the Egyptian collection mainly ceramic objects from the eighteenth Dynasty and metal and limestone detects from the Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. In 1992, El-Shendidy was



Mahmoud El-Shendidy
Photo: Ellen Pearlstein


chosen by UNESCO to be Conservation Officer of the Nubian Museum in Aswan. Since 1993 he has trained in France, England, Scotland and the Czech Republic as well as working in Aswan in preparation for the eagerly awaited opening of the museum. In March, El-Shendidy will return to the museum, which opened in November. Before leaving the States, he hopes to visit conservation labs in Boston, Washington and Philadelphia.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

An international conference at New York University on April 5 and 6 will mark the twentieth anniversary of the Museum Studies Program. The conference, "Guardians of Monuments and Memory: Case Studies in Urban Conservation and Museums in the Middle East," will explore the impact of tourism and how sites in Egypt, Jordan and Turkey are accommodating accelerated change. The conference will address the environmental, economic, and political impact on the living urban fabric of these sites as well as the scholarship that underlies the interpretation and conservation of objects in their museums. An important aim

is to encourage dialogue between the participants in the Middle East with each other and with their counterparts, museum and conservation professionals, as well as with scholars and others in the United States. The conference, to be held in the Casa Italiana at 24 West 10th Street, New York City, is being organized by Professor Flora Kaplan of NYU and is being co-sponsored by ARCE. Two of the speakers—Dr. Shawki Nakhla, emeritus Director General of Conservation for Egypt, and Dr. Gawdat Gabra, Director of the Coptic Museum—will be funded by ARCE and Terry Walz will be a speaker. The event will mark the first visit to the United States of the new Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Dr. Gaballah Gaballah. (For more information, contact the Museum Studies Program at NYU at 212-998-8080.)

ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting in Los Angeles promises to be special, as well should because it marks the 50th anniversary of ARCE. Those who can arrange to arrive early enough will have a chance to see the new Getty Conservation Institute, thanks to the generosity of our institutional member, the Getty Conservation Institute. The Los Angeles County Museum of Art will host a reception on Friday night and the banquet will be at UCLA, so the serious and scholarly will be punctuated with fun and frivolity as the best meetings should be. Those who can arrange it are invited to view the Harer Collection in San Bernadino with commentary by Board member Dr. Ben Harer. Plan to come and join us for what we hope will be a memorable conference in every way. 

Elaine Schapker

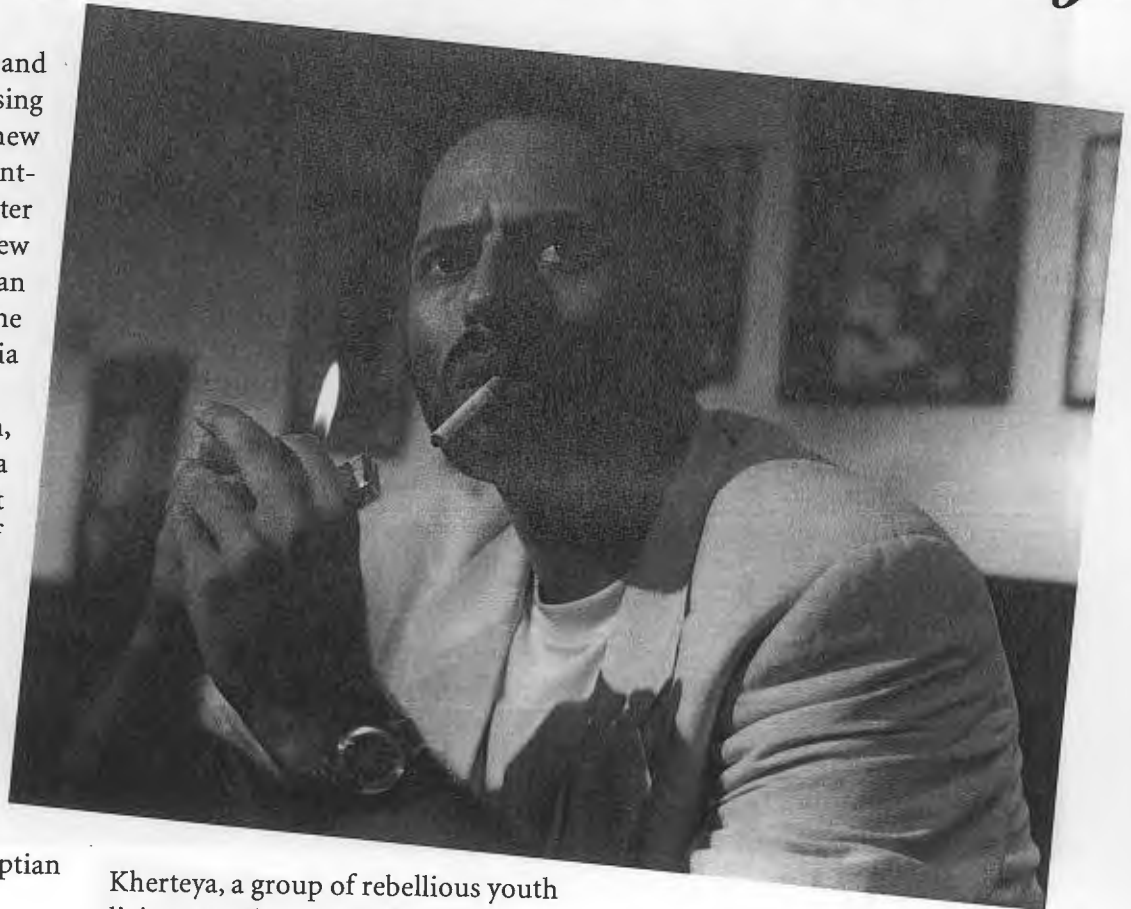
Myth, Imagination, Reality:

A weekend of films and discussions showcasing the work of new Egyptian filmmakers was presented by the Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies at New York University and the American Research Center in Egypt. The festival curator was our own Livia Alexander.

The films featured in Myth, Imagination, and Reality mark a parallel cinematic movement away from a unitary vision of Egypt toward a fragmented view of groups living on the margins of society. These films cover a wide array of issues and genres, from Sayed Said's highly stylized period film, *The Captain*, to Radwan Al-Kashef's penetrating commentary on contemporary Egyptian society, *Violets Are Blue*.

Included in a program of five "Egyptian Shorts" was *Time Out*, a tale of three people living parallel lives of solitude. A French woman living in Egypt since the death of her husband during World War II in the battle of Al Alamein and her neighbor, an aging violinist with nothing to do but wait for family visits by day and play the violin by night. A young man who comes to rent a room in the woman's houseboat gets involved in their world during the 19-minute movie.

Romantica is a film made by the son of legendary singer and actress Layla Murad and filmmaker Faten Abd Al-Wahabs. Zaki Faten Abd Al-Wahab's debut film was part autobiography. He describes an immature, depressed young man, hoping to direct his first film. Hassan shares his sense of loneliness, frustration and alienation in his own land with the



Above: *Romantica*

Kherteya, a group of rebellious youth living on the edge of society and earning their living hustling adventure seeking tourists. With Hollywood success and Egyptian

Below: Radwan Al-Kashef, director of *Violets Are Blue/Leh Ya Banafseg*



New Egyptian Directors



The Captain/al-Qubtan.

tourism as points of contact between East and West, *Romantica* presents a poetic and ironic glance at the "glittering" West from an Egyptian point of view.

Other films shown were Radwan AL-Kashef's *Violets Are Blue*, Ossama Fawzi's acclaimed *Asphalt Kings*.

Jenine Dallal moderated a spirited discussion on Third World Cinema: genre, production and politics. Participants included: Sayed Said and Mai Mishal. Lila Abu-Lughod hosted a discussion of Filmmaking Today. With Radwan Al-Kashef's Walter Arbrusts Mahmoud Soliman and Livia Alexander. Lila Abu-Lughod hosted a discussion of "Filmmaking Today" with Radwan Al-Kashef, Walter Arbrust, Mahmoud Soliman and Livia Alexander. 🐾



Time Out/Waqt Mustaqta.

GIFTS OF THE NILE: ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FAIENCE

The RISD Museum of Art, (Rhode Island School of Design) announced the dates and venues of its upcoming international loan exhibition, *Gifts of the Nile*, the first in-depth nationwide study of faience. The exhibition features more than 150 small-scale masterpieces drawn from North American and European public and private collections.

Faience is a non-clay ceramic material made of powdered quartz, glazed in a variety of colors, and called by the ancients *tjehenet*, meaning "what is brilliant", or "glistening" like the sun, moon and stars. Egyptian culture will be investigated through the examination and interpretation of these objects.

The exhibit shows works covering 3,000 years, from pre- and early dynastic times through the pharonic period and into the Roman era.


Organized by Dr. Florence Friedman, RISD's Curator of Antiquities, *Gifts of the Nile* will be on view in Cleveland, Providence and Fort Worth.

Dr. Friedman said, "This exhibition will yield important results with regard to illuminating aspects of an ancient civilization through the interpretation of numerous faience objects." She added that "previous interpretations of ancient Egyptian culture have focused more often on large monuments, with only recent attention to what smaller objects tell us." By examining and interpreting a class of objects in the minor arts, the museum hopes to provide a more detailed understanding of these objects that were made of one of Egypt's most popular media.

Often in blues and greens, faience works range from exquisitely modeled statuettes of kings and gods to

inlaid figurines and cosmetic boxes for the wealthy, charming hippos and hedgehogs from middle-class tombs. "All of these subjects are a largely untapped source for interpreting Egyptian culture and beliefs—notably, religious beliefs—that were an integral part of daily life," Dr. Friedman stated.

Among the highlights of RISD's exhibition is a brilliant blue faience pectoral that features the goddess Isis with delicately articulated wings that once spread protectively across the chest of a mummy. Arguably the best of its type, The Winged Isis Pectoral measures 8½" across and was purchased through the museum's Helen M. Danforth Fund.

Gifts of the Nile opens at the Cleveland Art Museum on May 10. See *Hold the Date*, page 16, for dates and other venues.  Joan Meisel

WINGED ISIS PECTORAL, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Helen M. Danforth Acquisition Fund. Photo by Del Bogart.



DEATH AND ETERNITY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

A symposium sponsored by the New York Office of ARCE on "Death and Eternity in Ancient Egypt" was held at the Jurow Auditorium of New York University this past November. Organized by Janet Richards and Peter Lacovera, the conference was an outgrowth of a paper prepared by John Baines and Peter Lacovera on "Death, the Dead and Burial in Ancient Egyptian Society." The paper served as a jumping-off point for a number of papers presented at the symposium. These included ones by Sue D'Auria (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) on "Making Mummies - The Science of Mummification;" Janet Richards (Kelsey Museum, Univ. of Michigan) "The Poor Shall Inherit: the Middle and New Kingdom Necropolis at Abydos;" John Taylor (British Museum) "Eternity Cut Short: The Recycling of Funerary Equipment in the Third Intermediate Period;" Lorelei Corcoran (Memphis State University) "Alternative After-lifestyles: Becoming Osiris in Roman Egypt" and Terry Wilfong (Kelsey Museum, Univ. of Michigan) "Death and the threat of Eternal Extinction in Egypt: The End of Everything."

Much of the material presented was new research and involved both newly discovered archaeological data and reinterpretation of existing material. These included conflicting attitudes toward the dead that can be found in both ancient and modern Egypt. Both in the cities and villages, cemeteries were and are still prominent features of the landscape and often include mausoleums of the wealthy and influential. Family tombs



Face from a Coffin. Painted wood with inlaid eyes, Late Third Intermediate Period to early State Period, 767-670 BC. Gift of the Thalassic Collection by Aristeia and Theodore Halkedis in honor of the Dr. Malcolm Rogers and the opening of the Gallery of Masks, October 20, 1994. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.


include a structure above ground that is visited by living members for festivals at which the living and dead are reunited. Since modern Egyptian practices with regard to the dead are anomalous for the official religion, the possibility exists that there are more ancient roots for such incongruous behaviors. Remnants of pharaonic traditions in both tomb architecture and burial have already been noted.

In many periods of ancient Egyptian history, an enormous proportion of the culture's resources was expended on burials, despite the fact that not everyone had a tomb and those mortuary structures already in existence were often treated with any-

thing but veneration. While the survival of evidence directly related to attitudes toward death and the dead is variable, and the beliefs of the living about the departed are poorly known, there seems to be a discontinuity between the respectful ideal and the brutal reality of destruction, disregard, and oblivion evidenced in the archaeological record.

While the bulk of information we have about Ancient Egypt comes from mortuary contexts, this material is less informative about attitudes and continuing practices with regard to the dead than might be expected. Some of the gaps in our knowledge are due to inadequate field recording and publication. In addition, archaeological excavations in the Nile Valley have seldom, if ever, addressed the questions with which modern archaeologists and anthropologists are concerned.

Likewise, textual evidence is also of limited usefulness since Egyptian funerary inscriptions are largely formulaic and typically record little of a biographical or philosophical nature. What we do know suggests that Ancient Egyptian culture was not unified in its perceptions of mortuary needs and destinies. Similarly, art historical sources are also little understood, summarily published, if at all, and open to vagaries of interpretation.

The papers in this symposium attempted to explore all these various aspects of the ancient Egyptian "Mausoleum Culture." The papers presented are currently being edited and will appear in a collected volume shortly. 

Peter Lacovera

THE COMPLETE PYRAMIDS

MARK LEHNER

THAMES AND HUDSON, 1997.
256 PAGES, 556 ILLUSTRATIONS,
83 IN COLOR.
\$34.95 ISBN 0-500-05008-8

EMILY TEETER

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

This eagerly awaited book by the world's foremost authority on the Giza pyramid, presents, as suggested by the title, a full account of pyramid building, the theology of pyramids and their impact on society. The book is divided into chapters covering Tomb And Temple; Explorers and Scientists; The Whole Pyramid Catalogue and The Living Pyramid, followed by an epilogue, information about visiting the pyramids, suggestions for further reading and an index.

The book is lavishly illustrated with photos, computer reconstructions, line drawings, maps and plans. Among the most useful of these graphics is "The Shape of Pyramid History" (pp. 16-7) where profiles of the major pyramids, drawn to the same scale and arranged by dynasty, appear side by side making it easy to compare the relative sizes of the monuments. The graphic is accompanied by a handy chart with dimensions, volume and the ancient name of each pyramid. Note that the dimensions are given in metric so they cannot easily be compared to the listings in Edwards (*Pyramids of Egypt*, 1985) or Fakhry (*The Pyramids*, 1961).

The first chapter of the book in which the theology and function of the pyramid complexes is discussed is, as might be expected, the most complicated and sometimes the least

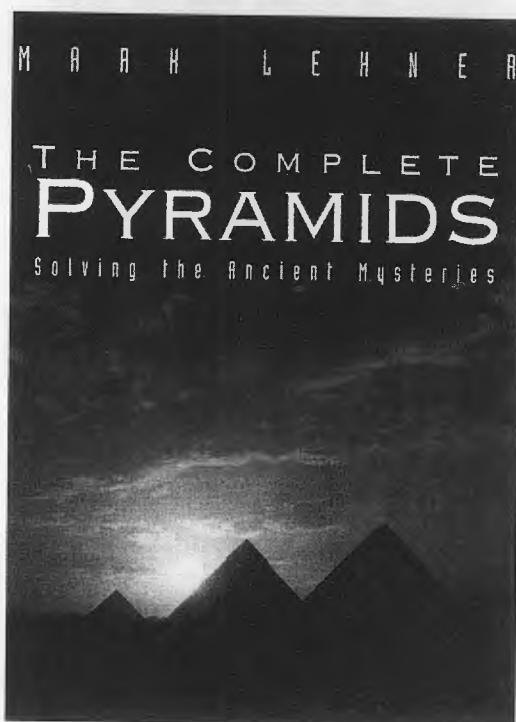
penetrable. In his discussion of the role of the *ba* and the *ka* Lehner states that the function of mummification was not so much the preservation of the body in a lifelike appearance, but the transfiguration of the body. This is a good observation, but the attendant statement that the body was "filled with magic" (p. 22) is entirely unclear and seems to pander to those who seek the esoteric.

His discussion of the ritual function of the Pyramid Texts and their placement in the tomb, based on the work of James Allen, is very good, although one wonders if the discussion of the New Kingdom religious books really has a place in a volume on the pyramids. The comment on page 31 that "The route to the pyramid complex finally leads to the great false door at the back of the offering chapel" may puzzle the reader, for false doors in offering chapels are, according to the text, not attested with certainty until Unis (p. 155). Such architectural features in earlier monuments are prefaced with quali-

fications such as Snefru's temple "may have contained a false door. . ." (p. 105); Djedefre "perhaps" had a false door (p. 121) Khafra "probably [had] such a structure" (p. 125), and Menkaure "probably" did as well (p. 136), leaving the reader to wonder if indeed such a structure stood in the pyramid complex prior to the end of Dynasty 5. Certainly the definite attestation of a false door in an offering context in the Pyramid of Unis, the first monument to be inscribed with the Pyramid Texts, may not be a coincidence.

One of the strengths of this book is that it makes new investigations and often inaccessible scholarly research available to the general reader, especially the theoretical work of Stadelmann and Arnold (both of whom Lehner relies upon heavily), and the excavations of Polz and Harvey. The section "Recent Discoveries" (p. 66-9) includes two tables with a handy history of exploration from 1887-1950 and from 1951 to 1997. The theory that the Sphinx far predates Dynasty 4 (Schoch, Dobecki and West) is mentioned only in passing (p. 69). The discussion of the damage to the Sphinx is very interesting, especially the detailed photograph (p. 41) that suggests that the nose was removed by hammering rods into the face of the figure. The accompanying text will hopefully put to rest the idea that Napoleon's troops were responsible for the damage.

The function of the valley and pyramid temples have been reassessed in recent years. Lehner adheres to the traditional view of Fakhry and Edwards that the valley temple was the site of the mummification of the king's body, specifically identifying it with the Ibwt and wabet (pp. 25-6) Although Lehner



follows Dieter Arnold in many aspects, they differ on this issue. In Arnold's contribution to *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (edited by B. Schafer, Cornell, 1997, p. 27), he associates the valley temple with the earlier tradition of an enclosure ("fortress") of the gods where the spirit of the deceased king met the deities in rituals of rejuvenation. Lehner asserts that the mortuary temple functioned as "the deceased king's eternal residence" (p. 18, 27) while Arnold (*Temples*, 1997, p. 57) opts for the pyramid temple as an area devoted to ritual or rejuvenation enacted upon the statue of the king.

The third chapter, "The Whole Pyramid Catalogue," deals with the monuments chronologically from the antecedents of pyramids at Hierakonpolis and the royal tombs at Abydos, through the Old Kingdom monuments, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom royal monuments. The New Kingdom section is followed by a brief section on pyramids in late antiquity in Nubia. Each is heavily illustrated with excellent photographs and plans. It is helpful that Lehner here too expresses not only his own conclusions, but those of other scholars, reminding us that many questions still remain unresolved.

One might notice a curious vacillation on the attribution of the pyramid at Meidum. Although on page 108 it is asserted that Snefru was the builder, earlier in the book (p. 15) it is questioned "If Snefru did indeed build the Meidum pyramid." In some cases, data is scattered through the book rather than being presented in the overall discussion of the specific monument to which it refers. For example, the "moat" of Djoser is referred to several times (pp. 82, 141) yet it is not mentioned in the extensive discussion of the complex itself (pp. 84-93). The suggestion that the South Tomb of Djoser (pp. 92-3) had a mastaba superstructure is men-

tioned in passing on page 82, yet is not mentioned in the discussion of the tomb on pages 92-3. It is not clear to this reader, and may mystify others, how the height and number of steps can be estimated for unfinished monuments such as that of Sekhemkhet and Layer Pyramid at Zawiyet el Aryan (pp. 94-5).

Chapter Four, "The Living Pyramid" is particularly interesting with its clear and insightful comments about how the pyramids may have been built. In this discussion Lehner draws upon his important recreations of quarrying and moving stone for the NOVA-sponsored pyramid film. He also discusses the ancillary services that the pyramids required—the collection of fuel for making mortar and to cook bread for the workers, the raising and distribution of food for the crews and the social impact of pyramid building. His detailed discussion of the survey and alignment of pyramids, and other details of their construction (rise and run and difficulties with the capstone) presents a balanced and clear survey of the many problems and possible solutions. The excellent diagrams reinforce the complex concepts. The later part of the chapter deals with the work force and the social implications for pyramid building (pp. 224-239). He suggests that the pyramid of Khufu "could have been built by two crews of 2,000" (p. 225), a far smaller number than the 100,000 suggested by Herodotus. The economic importance of the pyramid is addressed on pages 228-9 with the land holding related to the rise of the god Re, the rise of bureaucracy and the attendant dispersal of central power of the Old Kingdom. Most readers will be hopelessly confused by the emphasis placed upon the *ra-she* and the unclear explanation of what this geographic term has to do with the basin before the pyramid and the people of the *she* (pp. 232-4). Although this is

an important topic, in the form given here it does not warrant such attention in a book for the general public.

As in any book, a few corrections can be noted. On page 23, the word *ba* (soul) is not written with the ibis sign, but rather with the jabiru *Ephippiorhynchus sengalensis* (Gardiner sign list G29). The human-headed form of the *ba* likewise is not the ibis as indicated by the short feathered legs and forked tail. The index should have been more carefully proofread. The listing "false door" alone has two erroneous entries (pp. 9 and 120).

Any book bearing the promise "The Complete" will motivate readers to note omissions. There are few in this book, but among the most obvious is the lack of reference to the private tombs with pyramid superstructures of Dynasties 18-20 in western Thebes other than those at Deir el Medina. For these, see Friederike Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole* (Mainz, 1996), pp. 95-109. So too, it is strange that the modern hieroglyphic inscription cut by Lepsius in 1842 into the blocks above the original entrance to Khufu is not mentioned, since tourists—one of the markets for this book—often comment upon it. Lehner might also have mentioned Ka'k'osy's suggestion that the lower chambers of Khufu's pyramid were entered prior to the time of Herodotus (ca. 440 B.C.), while the upper chambers were entered between the time of Herodotus and al Ma'mun (ca. 440 B.C.-A.D. 820) ("The Plundering of the Pyramid of Cheops", in *Studien Zur altagyptischen Kultur* 16, 1989, pp. 145-169).

This handsome and informative book, which incidentally has been designated a selection of the Book of the Month Club and the History Book Club, will do much to introduce the public to varied aspects of pyramids, supplying reliable and up to date information in an attractive format. ♀

THE DISCOVERY
OF A SARCOPHAGUS,
ALMOST IMMEDIATELY IDENTIFIED
AS THAT IN WHICH
ALEXANDER THE GREAT
HAD BEEN INTERRED...
CAUSED QUITE A STIR

Contrary to popular opinion, there is every good reason to think that Alexandria was inhabited before Alexander's arrival. The evidence derives not only from what some have termed the Prehistoric (read Bronze Age) harbor of the city, but also from the fact that the name of this pre-Alexandrine settlement was termed Rhacotis in Greek. The evidence is also mounting in favor of accepting the suggestion that the cult of Serapis, made famous by the later Ptolemies, may well have been in place here at Rhacotis, although granted in a form somewhat different from its later Hellenistic one, at the time of Alexander's arrival at the site of his future city.

From such beginnings the city of Alexandria grew.

It is not my intention here to present an armchair view of the city by pointing out what Greek and Roman monument can still be seen amidst the urban sprawl which we call Alexandria. Rather, my purpose is three-fold. First, I will endeavor to show in accordance with my understanding of the evidence how the Hellenistic city vanished. Secondly, I will attempt to document how the face of that destroyed city appeared over time and was transformed during the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Thirdly, I will examine in some detail just two ancient monuments, the Pharos, or Lighthouse of Alexandria, and the Temple to Caesar with particular attention to its architectural relationship to the Pharos and the Tomb of Alexander the Great.

Let us turn to the first point, namely the destruction of the city. Although the following comments have not yet been confirmed by archaeological excavation, one can, nevertheless, present a cogent case for the physical destruction of many of

the Ptolemaic monuments in the city as a direct result of the ephemeral rise of Tadmor, or Palmyra, located in the desert of Syria. For a brief moment in history between the years A.D. 269 and 271, Tadmor was the capital of an empire which extended from Egypt to what is now Ankara in Turkey. The dynastic squabble in Rome so diverted Roman attention from the Middle East that this city was catapulted into imperial status as the dominant force in the East. Zenobia, the wife of Odenathus via a series of intrigues against her husband, gained control of this vast but ephemeral Palmyrian empire. When Aurelian eventually emerged as the emperor of Rome in A.D. 272, his first order of business was to restore to Rome that which Zenobia had gerrymandered away. Having captured Palmyra, Aurelian was generous. He did not raze the city. He exacted his punishment on Zenobia and those of her immediate entourage and departed, giving his attention to the troubled regions of the Danube.

His lenient treatment of Tadmor and its many inhabitants and his hasty departure from the region encouraged both the Palmyrian Septimius Aspaecos and a certain Antiochos to rise up against Aurelian once more. In this second insurrection the two were supported by one Firmus, who was then in control of Egypt. Aurelian returned with a vengeance. It is my contention that the suppression of this Palmyrian revolt against Rome led by Firmus of Egypt, who was headquartered in

Alexandria, inflicted irreparable damage on much of the city of Alexandria including the Tomb of Alexander the Great.

The events just described occurred in the third quarter of the third century A.D. Within a century, if one can trust tradition, the Christians of Egypt were able to taunt the remaining pagans with jeers such as (and here pardon the paraphrase), "If you're so smart, where is the Tomb of Alexander?" The subsequent destruction of many of the remaining pagan monuments such as the Serapaeum, a truly colossal edifice, by the early Christians further contributed to the destruction of the once glorious Hellenistic city.

Having presented my understanding of how sections of the Hellenistic city were destroyed, let us now turn to my second subject, namely, what we can glean about the city from the time of this destruction through the early part of the twentieth century. I turn my attention first to such European renderings of Alexandria as that in a drawing made in 1472. Please note that in this and all subsequent renderings of the city and its topography, a certain degree of artistic license is at play, depending on the artists' temperaments. Therefore, such renderings are not to be taken as accurately rendered-to-scale architectural drawings and blueprints. In this particular rendering, one notes that the promontory on which the Pharos or Lighthouse (one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World) was located is not marked at all, whereas a monument marked as a "tomb" may be identified as "Pompeii's Pillar." The identification of the structure labeled as a "tower" is moot. This rendering makes one observation perfectly clear: European travelers at a time when the Renaissance was increasing the understanding of antiquity could not correlate the topography of the city as recorded in the testimonia with its

contemporary, visible structures.

A similar case can be made for the views of Alexandria of 1737-8 published by the Dane, Norden. To his credit, Norden did recognize that Fort Qait Bey was on the remains of the Pharos and that the obelisks on the shore were associated with the Temple to Caesar. But even in his rendering of the obelisks, from a vantage point that was to be repeated by later illustrators and photographers, no one bothered to excavate the surrounding area, even when the obelisks were removed to London and New York City, respectively.

The discovery of a sarcophagus, almost immediately identified as that in which Alexander the Great had been interred, under a kiosk in the Attarine Mosque of Alexandria and its subsequent transport to the British Museum in 1802 caused quite a stir. Please note, however, that this was twenty years before one could read the hieroglyphs. Nevertheless, the rumor spread that the Tomb of Alexander the Great, or at least his sarcophagus, had been found, so that, for a time other attempts to find it seem to have ceased. The sarcophagus is inscribed for Nectanebo II, the last native Egyptian king of Egypt who ruled during Dynasty XXX.

The removal of such objects as the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II and of the two obelisks lying perilously near the coast without any archaeological excavations did much to obliterate whatever traces of the Hellenistic city might have been on land. The depredations were compounded by the nationalist revolt of Orabi which was regarded by the British as an open invitation to bombard the city. The results of that bombardment were inestimable as contemporary photos of the destroyed city reveal.

The wonderfully graceful corniche extending from Fort Qait Bey to Montazza may be one of the most visually attractive additions to the city from the point of view of



The Pharos of Alexandria, a 1567 view. Credit: NYPL.

tourism but its construction had deleterious effects on the terrain of the shore because it "regularized" the appearance of the beach by eliminating whatever features jutted out into the sea and filling in wherever the sea intruded landward. One should also note that during the centuries since its original construction, the original perimeter of the *heptastadion* has also changed considerably.

Looking at the city of Alexandria today, one can realize why it is so difficult to find correspondances between sites within the present city and those Hellenistic monuments which the testimonia describe and site. The Aurelian destruction of the city and the Christian eradication of many of the monuments plunged the city's past into obscurity, as the visual descriptions of the early European travelers clearly reveal. The awakening of interest in Egypt in the aftermath of Napoleon's expedition resulted in the wholesale plunder of a great many of that city's precious monuments without recourse to even the most rudimentary of archaeological applications. That nineteenth

century plundering was accompanied by a savage assault on the city in the form of a bombardment compounded by an urban face lifting which changed the coastline precisely in that part of the city where some of the more famous Hellenistic monuments were thought to stand. In light of such circumstances, what is one to do? Is the situation so grave as to be hopeless? I think not. One awaits the more scientific publication of the work being conducted under the direction of Frank Goddio of the Institut Européen d'Archeologie Sous-Marine in the area already identified as the probable location of the Ptolemaic Royal Quarter. Fortunately the work of the Franco-Egyptian mission in the waters off Fort Qait Bey continue to be published. That worked has prompted the observations which follow.

I am convinced that Alexandria, as a showplace of Ptolemaic tryphe was planned and designed with meticulous care with regard to the architectural interrelationships among the important public buildings and to their placement within the landscape



as vistas. That so little has actually been preserved on land has caused most commentators to overlook this vital element of Alexandria's urban design with the result that the plan of the Hellenistic city of Pergamon or the design of the Temple and Complex of Aesculapius on Kos have preoccupied architectural historians who have given their designs primacy of place in all such discussions. Nevertheless, the Ptolemaic court appears to have been a leading and early exponent of such progressive integration of monument and landscape, if a late fourth century B.C. date can be maintained for the hemicycle of poets and philosophers found at Saqqara. This monument is clearly of Hellenistic Ptolemaic design and origin because it was created, not out of imported marble, but of local limestone. It is within the framework of vistas and architectural interdependencies that I should now like to discuss the Pharos, Temple to Caesar, and Tomb of Alexander the Great.

I turn first to the Temple to Caesar, later rededicated as the Sebastaeum in honor of Augustus. One must first reconsider the function of the pair of obelisks which fronted that monument and are now in London and New York City, respectively. That edifice, whatever its architectural idiom, was fronted on its principal short facade with a pair of obelisks. This recalls the disposition of the pair of obelisks originally in front of Luxor Temple, before the removal of one to Paris. If one subscribes to this suggestion, it can be further argued that the Temple to Caesar has a relative North-South orientation. This afforded visitors arriving at Alexandria from the sea a vista characteristic of Hellenistic city-planning by which the facade ornately decorated by these two monuments could be readily seen and appreciated.

In my view there was an ulterior



Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra. Credit: NYPL

motive in Cleopatra's selection of this site to honor Julius Caesar. I contend that the temple was erected with the immediate vicinity of the Tomb of Alexander the Great, that the temple, fronted by obelisks, was intended to become the architectural pendant of the Pharos and intended to deprive the Tomb of Alexander of its vista and original architectural relationship with the Pharos. Therefore, the Tomb of Alexander is to be sought to the south of the Temple to Caesar and immediately behind it. In this reconstruction of the city's plan, the architectural and ideological purpose of the Caesareum was to eclipse the Tomb of Alexander the Great of the primacy of place it had enjoyed up to that time.

The interesting observation about the use of obelisks in the Caesareum is that they are Egyptian, and that they were used in a characteristically Greek city as the principal facade ornament dedicated to a Roman. I suspect that the obelisks were intended to make manifest Cleopatra and Caesar's joint claim to universal monarchy. This enhancement of a Greek architectural idiom with pharaonic elements is characteristic of the city in general. Note for example, the

pharaonic embellishments of the fundamentally Hellenistic design of Tomb One at Mustapha Pascha. The use of sphinxes and in no way diminishes the essentially Greek and religious and ideological character of the monument.

If one accepts the suggestion that there was a clearly defined architectural relationship between the Pharos and the Tomb of Alexander, then Pharos and the Caesareum were visually linked. The linkage was intentional and meant to diminish the importance of the Tomb of Alexander. Indeed there is nothing in the biography of Cleopatra the Great or in that of Julius Caesar to suggest any special treatment of the former hero. In fact, historians are at pains to demonstrate that Julius Caesar considered himself to be the new Alexander whose deeds and universal monarchy he aspired to eclipse. Hence, the clear motive of Augustus who stressed his wish to visit the Tomb of Alexander the Great on a view which completely eschews any reference to the Caesareum.

A plan drawn by Norden in the eighteenth century makes the architectural and, by extension, visual linkage between the Pharos and the Caesareum perfectly clear. I wish to emphasize that many scholars have failed to appreciate the fact the Pharos is constructed of local Egyptian limestone and Aswan granite, blocks of which are clearly visible beneath the surface of the waters at Qait Bey and one which, estimated to have originally measured over twelve meters in length, has actually been raised by the Franco-Egyptian team. The presence of Aswan granite implies, more properly guarantees, that those responsible for the design of the Pharos enlisted the aid of native Egyptians. One of the fundamental axioms of Classical architecture posits that the masons come with their material. Egyptian material presupposes the participation of

native Egyptian masons at the very least. I suspect that native designers, and the like, worked hand-in-glove with Deinocrates on the conception of the design of Pharos. To the best of our knowledge, that Lighthouse represents the first Hellenistic Greek architectural project to incorporate granite, a native Egyptian stone, on such a super colossal scale reminiscent only of the grand projects of The Fourth Dynasty of the Old Kingdom. The importance of this Egyptian component has been largely overlooked, and the monumentality inherent in pharonic architectural and sculptural programs may have in Ptolemaic Egypt at least, contributed to the perceived Hellenistic gigantism of such endeavors.

From the evidence provided by coins of the Roman Imperial Period on which the Pharos is depicted to its alleged depiction in the minor arts of the period and subsequent evocation in such post-antique works such as the vignette in the mosaics of the Basilica of San Marco, Venice, the Pharos has been habitually considered to be an individual monument, standing alone without an architectural context, devoid of both a vista and denuded of any reference to its pharonic legacy.

I have suggested that the causeway linking the mainland with the and establishing a double harbor also was meant to completely overshadow in disposition and grandeur the double harbor of Rhodes. It should come as no surprise, then, that the famous Colossus of Rhodes was adorned with a monument of equal status. We know less about this statue than any of the other Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. This much is certain.



The Colossus of Rhodes. Credit: NYPL

The Colossus was commissioned by Demetrios between 294 and 282 B.C. And cast by Chares, a pupil of Lysippos. Both the Colossus of Rhodes and the Pharos are, then, roughly contemporaneous. In my view they were intended to be seen in association with their double harbors, each contending for primacy in the minds of the Hellenistic Greeks. It is, therefore, significant that Deinocrates was himself a Rhodian!

In this context, the Pharos had to be designed not as a single, isolated monument, but one which was integrated into the landscape in such a way that the two harbors and causeway were integrated into the urban design of Alexandria as a whole. The isolation of the Pharos as a single monument can no longer be maintained. Modern published plans of the Pharos, and its accompanying reconstructions isolate the structure

within a restricting structural wall. That something is amiss with this type of recreation seems assured by the finds which the present Franco-Egyptian mission are retrieving from the sea immediately in front of the monument at depths no greater than eight meters. These include torsos of figures in characteristically Egyptian knotted garments, colossal figures of striding, kilted male figures, sphinxes, and headdresses. Just as the Temple to Caesar was adorned with obelisks and perhaps even a dromos, so, too, in my mind, the Pharos must have had an analogous causeway, lined with statues in the Egyptian fashion, recalling again, something on the order of what is found at the Luxor Temple.

What ever their final disposition, the finds currently associated with the waters off Fort Qait Bey will certainly force one to reconsider the Pharos, not only on its own terms, but also in terms of the urban plan of Alexandria itself. These preliminary observations were, therefore, intended to suggest that the Pharos must be seen as an integral part of the city's urban plan and that the Temple to Caesar was designed to detract from the importance of the Sema and replace it as the architectural pendant of the Pharos. ■



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CLEVELAND

GIFTS OF THE NILE:

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Organized by Rhode Island School of Design, the exhibition brings together more than one hundred prime examples of ancient Egyptian faience from collection around the world. May 10-July 5, Cleveland Museum of Art, 216.421.7340; RISD, Providence, Aug. 28-Jan. 3, 1999; Kimball Art Museum, Fort Worth, Jan. 31-April 25, 1999.

DENVER

SEARCHING FOR ANCIENT EGYPT

Featuring 134 items from the University of Pennsylvania Museum's collection, most notably the newly restored Chapel Tomb of Kapure. The exhibition documents aspects of ancient Egyptian culture and society, and the role the University of Pennsylvania has played in discovering the material culture. From Denver, the show will travel to Seattle, Omaha, Toledo and Birmingham. Apr. 3-Aug. 2 1998, Denver Art Museum. 303.640.4433.

PORTLAND, OR.

SPLENDORS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

More than 200 works, pre-dynastic through Roman, from Roemer-Palizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, Germany. Mar. 8-Aug. 16, 1998. Portland Art Museum. 503.226.2811

LECTURES

Friends of Egyptian Art, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 617.369.3329. All lectures at 7:30 p.m.

THE PYRAMIDS OF MEROE

Janice Yellin, Babson College, Feb. 11, Trustees Room.

THE HYKSOS CAPITAL IN THE EGYPTIAN DELTA
Manfred Bietak, Austrian Archeological Inst.
Mar. 11, Riley Seminar Room.

THIS OLD OBELISK

Mark Lehner, University of Chicago, May 13, Trustees Room.

REVISION OF LATE PERIOD CORPUS AVAILABLE

A limited number of offprints of Jack Josephson's revision of the Corpus of Late Period Sculpture by Bernard Bothmer, which appeared in the latest volume of JARCE, are available from the New York office at \$5 each. If you would like a copy, please send a check made out to ARCE for that amount to our New York headquarters.

OLD PHOTOGRAPHS

Do you have any old photographs of ARCE or key ARCE players during the 50s or 60s especially at social events like walking tours? If so, please contact Jim Sibal (e-mail: jhsibal@aol.com) or Elaine Schapker at the New York office, 212.529.6661. We are putting together a small brochure to celebrate ARCE on the occasion of its Fiftieth Anniversary, which is this year.

ERRATA

October 1997 Newsletter
News From Cairo, p. 3, caption and credit should read: Crew and participants, ARCE Field School, February-April 1996. (Photo: Ted Brock)

Scandal in the Embalming House, p. 11, line 34: the mummy in question had malaria, not schistosomiasis, indeed a falciparum malarial

